

Message Text

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TAGS: MARR, RP

SUBJECT: BASE DISCUSSIONS: CONGRESSIONAL BRIEFINGS

REF: STATE 065406

FOR YOUR INFORMATION, FOLLOWING IS INFORMAL REPORT ON
CONGRESSIONAL BRIEFINGS.

BRIEFING OF SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE

ASSISTANT SECRETARY RICHARD HOLBROOKE AND BRIGADIER
GENERAL PAT GRAHAM BRIEFED SENATORS GLENN AND STONE PLUS
NORVILL JONES AND OTHER SELECT MEMBERS OF THE SENATE
FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE STAFF ON MARCH 8 REGARDING THE
STATUS OF OUR PHILIPPINE BASE NEGOTIATIONS AND OUR PRO-
POSED COMPENSATION PACKAGE.

BOTH SENATOR GLENN AND SENATOR STONE EXPRESSED GENERAL
APPRECIATION FOR HAVING BEEN CONSULTED IN ADVANCE RE-
GARDING THE COMPENSATION PACKAGE AND INDICATED THAT THEY
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PERSONALLY WOULD BE ABLE TO SUPPORT THE ADMINISTRATION'S
NEGOTIATING POSITION. BOTH INDICATED, HOWEVER, THAT THE
MOST DIFFICULT PART OF THE NEGOTIATIONS DEAL TO SELL IN
CONGRESS WOULD BE THE COMPENSATION PACKAGE, BOTH IN TERMS

OF THE LEVEL OF OVERALL ASSISTANCE TO THE PHILIPPINES AND
UNEASE OF CONGRESS IN GIVING THE MARCOS REGIME ANYTHING
THAT LOOKED LIKE A BLANK CHECK. SENATOR GLENN'S STAFF
HAD BEEN BRIEFED IN ADVANCE IN GENERAL TERMS REGARDING
WHAT THE COMPENSATION PACKAGE MIGHT LOOK LIKE AND HAD

PROVIDED THE SENATOR WITH A MEMORANDUM INDICATING THAT IF ONE ADDED IN ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE (NOT PART OF THE BASE COMPENSATION PACKAGE), TOTAL U.S. ASSISTANCE TO THE PHILIPPINES WOULD BE APPROXIMATELY 1 BILLION DOLLARS OVER FIVE YEARS (E.G. APPROXIMATELY THE SAME AS THE KISSINGER OFFER). AS A RESULT, EVEN BEFORE HOLBROOKE COULD DISCUSS IN DETAIL THE PROPOSED BASE DEAL, SENATOR GLENN MADE A NUMBER OF COMMENTS:

--CONGRESS WOULD NOT WELCOME ANY LARGE SUM. THE UNITED STATES WAS PROVIDING SECURITY TO THE PHILIPPINES BY MEANS OF OUR PHILIPPINE BASES. A BILLION DOLLARS OR EVEN A HALF BILLION WOULD BE DIFFICULT TO GET THROUGH CONGRESS.

--WE PROVIDE SECURITY AND FUNDS TO THE PHILIPPINES BY OUR PRESENCE AT THE BASES. THE LEAST THE PHILIPPINE GOVERNMENT CAN DO IS TO OFFER THE BASES TO US AT A REASONABLE COST. THE PHILIPPINES KNOW THEY WANT US TO STAY. IT WILL LOOK LIKE QUOTE BLACKMAIL END QUOTE IF THEY DEMAND EXTRAORDINARY SUMS. THE DEFENSE OF THE PHILIPPINES HAS TO BE CONSIDERED IN TERMS OF A U.S.-PHILIPPINE PARTNERSHIP.

IN RESPONSE, GLENN WAS BRIEFED IN DETAIL ON PHILIPPINE CONFIDENTIAL

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PERCEPTIONS THAT THE U.S. COMMITMENT TO DEFEND THE PHILIPPINES IS LESS COMPREHENSIVE THAN IN THE DAYS OF PRESIDENT JOHNSON. IT WAS NOTED THAT WE HAD SPECIFICALLY NOT PROMISED TO DEFEND PHILIPPINE CLAIMS TO THE SPRATLY ISLANDS AND REFUSED TO REAFFIRM PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S 1966 COMMITMENT TO REACT TO ANY ATTACK ON ANY PART OF THE PHILIPPINES. GLENN SAID THAT IF THE GOP HAD TO ASSUME A LARGER ROLE IN ITS OWN DEFENSE, MORE ASSISTANCE WAS JUSTIFIABLE. GENERAL GRAHAM ADDED THAT WHILE WE WERE TRYING TO MAKE THE PHILIPPINE GOVERNMENT ASSUME A GREATER BURDEN OF ITS OWN DEFENSE, THERE WERE SOME AREAS E.G., ANTI-SUBMARINE WARFARE, WHERE WE HOPED TO CONVINCE THE PHILIPPINES TO CONTINUE TO DEPEND ON THE UNITED STATES. HOLBROOKE NOTED THAT WE HAD REASSURED MARCOS WITH REGARD TO OUR MUTUAL DEFENSE TREATY AND EMPHASIZED TO HIM THE IMPORTANCE OF OUR FACILITIES IN THE PHILIPPINES FOR THE SECURITY OF ALL SOUTHEAST ASIA.

BOTH SENATORS GLENN AND STONE EXPRESSED GREAT INTEREST IN THE POSSIBLE USE OF SECURITY SUPPORTING ASSISTANCE (APPROXIMATELY 120-150 MILLION DOLLARS OVER FIVE YEARS)

AND URGED HOLBROOKE TO TRY TO DETERMINE IN ADVANCE WHAT SUCH SSA FUNDS MIGHT BE USED FOR. SENATOR STONE INDICATED THAT IN GENERAL TERMS HE THOUGHT APPROPRIATE OUR USE OF THE SPANISH MODEL OF COMPENSATION--IT WAS, HE SAID, A GOOD IDEA TO USE QUOTE A LITTLE BIT OF EVERYTHING END

QUOTE. HE INDICATED NEVERTHELESS THAT AS A RESULT OF THE PANAMA DEBATES, THERE WOULD BE SOME MEMBERS OF CONGRESS WHO WOULD FIND IT IRRITATING TO PAY ANY FOREIGN GOVERNMENT TO TAKE ANYTHING. HE URGED IN PARTICULAR THAT WE DO NOT LABEL OUR COMPENSATION PACKAGE QUOTE RENTS END QUOTE.

SENATOR GLENN ASKED FOR AN EXPLANATION OF THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN SECURITY SUPPORTING ASSISTANCE AND OTHER FORMS OF SECURITY OR ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE. STONE ASKED WHAT STRINGS CONFIDENTIAL

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MIGHT BE ATTACHED TO SUCH SECURITY SUPPORTING ASSISTANCE AND URGED THAT WE NEGOTIATE IN ADVANCE THE PROGRAMS TO BE FUNDED BY SSA. SENATOR GLENN CONFIRMED THAT WE WOULD NEED TO DEFEND THE SSA APPROPRIATIONS IN CONGRESS AND THAT THEREFORE IT WAS IMPORTANT THAT WE NOT RUSH TO GIVE MARCOS A CHECK THAT MIGHT END UP IN IMELDA'S SWISS BANK ACCOUNT.

HOLBROOKE RESPONDED BY NOTING THAT WE WANTED TO EXPLORE IN OUR UPCOMING NEGOTIATIONS HOW THESE SSA FUNDS MIGHT BE USED. HOLBROOKE ADDED THAT WE WOULD BE ONLY REQUESTING FUNDS ONE YEAR AT A TIME AND THAT THEREFORE WE COULD REVIEW HOW THE PHILIPPINES USED THE FUNDS AFTER THE FIRST YEAR. THIS WOULD GIVE US, HOLBROOKE INDICATED, CONSIDERABLE LEVERAGE IN CONTROLLING HOW THE MONEY WAS SPENT. STONE STATED THAT WE SHOULD NEGOTIATE WITH MARCOS THE FIRST COUPLE OF YEARS OF SSA EXPENDITURES. NORVILL JONES ADDED THAT IF THE ADMINISTRATION DID NOT SPELL OUT HOW THE SSA WOULD BE USED, CONGRESS WOULD.

BOTH SENATOR GLENN AND SENATOR STONE OFFERED SUGGESTIONS ON HOW WE MIGHT BEST PRESENT OUR REQUEST FOR COMPENSATION TO THE CONGRESS. STONE URGED THAT WE PRESS THE PHILIPPINE GOVERNMENT TO DO SOMETHING FOR VIETNAMESE BOAT CASES AND TO INSURE THAT U.S. FUNDS WERE TIED TO PURCHASES FROM THE UNITED STATES. SENATOR STONE STATED CONGRESSIONAL ATTITUDE TOWARD PROVIDING ADDITIONAL FMS CREDITS TO THE PHILIPPINES WOULD DEPEND TO SOME EXTENT ON THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN THE PHILIPPINES. IN RESPONSE TO STONE'S STATEMENT ON HUMAN RIGHTS, GLENN ADDED THAT HE PERSONALLY DID NOT SUPPORT THE IDEA OF LINKING HUMAN RIGHTS AND SECURITY ISSUES. IN GENERAL TERMS, HE INDICATED THAT HE THOUGHT THE ADMINISTRATION AND SOME OF THE QUOTE CRAZIES END QUOTE IN THE OTHER HOUSE WERE CONFIDENTIAL

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PUSHING HUMAN RIGHTS TOO FAR AND THESE INITIATIVES MIGHT COME BACK TO HAUNT US.

AT THE END OF THE BRIEFING BOTH SENATOR STONE AND SENATOR GLENN INDICATED TO HOLBROOKE THAT THEY CONSIDERED THE ADMINISTRATION'S APPROACH TO THE NEGOTIATIONS REASONABLE AND THAT THEY THOUGHT IN GENERAL TERMS THEY COULD SUPPORT IT. MEMBERS OF SENATOR GLENN'S STAFF LATER CONFIRMED THAT GLENN WAS NOT PERSONALLY RAISING PROBLEMS WITH THE MAGNITUDE OF THE COMPENSATION PACKAGE BUT WAS TRYING TO INDICATE TO THE ADMINISTRATION THAT IT WOULD HAVE TO DEFEND ITS PROPOSALS VIGOROUSLY BEFORE CONGRESS.

BRIEFING FOR SENATOR INOUE--SENATE APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE

ON THE AFTERNOON OF MARCH 8, ASSISTANT SECRETARY HOLBROOKE AND BRIGADIER GENERAL PAT GRAHAM OF THE JCS BRIEFED SENATOR INOUE ON OUR PHILIPPINE BASE NEGOTIATIONS SCENARIO.

INOUE ASKED A NUMBER OF DETAILED QUESTIONS BOTH ABOUT THE SUBSTANCE OF THE NEW AGREEMENT AND THE NATURE OF THE COMPENSATION PACKAGE. AT THE CONCLUSION OF THE BRIEFING, HE INDICATED CONSIDERABLE SUPPORT FOR THE APPROACH THE ADMINISTRATION WAS TAKING:

--OUR PHILIPPINE PROPOSALS SEEM TO HIM QUOTE MOST RATIONAL END QUOTE;

--OUR DECISION TO SEPARATE ECONOMIC AND COMPENSATION PORTIONS OF OUR ASSISTANCE WAS CORRECT. INOUE DID URGE THAT WE PLAY TOUGH ON OUR BASE NEGOTIATIONS. HE STATED THAT THE PHILIPPINES WANT US IN OUR BASES AND THAT IF WE EVER DECIDE TO PULL OUT MARCOS WOULD PROBABLY CONFIDENTIAL

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BE ASSASSINATED. HE INDICATED THAT HE PERSONALLY CONSIDERED IT DEMEANING TO HAVE TO BLUFF TO KEEP OUR BASES.

INOUE DID INDICATE THAT HE PERSONALLY COULD BUY OUR NEGOTIATING PACKAGE. HE ANTICIPATED THAT WE PROBABLY HAVE MORE TROUBLE IN THE HOUSE THAN THE SENATE. HE STRONGLY RECOMMENDED THAT WE DO TWO THINGS TO SELL OUR AGREEMENT:

--FIRST, THE ADMINISTRATION SHOULD DO THE FINEST JOB POSSIBLE OF SELLING THE SECURITY IMPORTANCE OF BOTH SUBIC AND CLARK BASES. INOUE NOTED THAT MOST CONGRESSMEN FRANKLY DID NOT EVEN KNOW WHERE THE TWO BASES WERE.

--WE SHOULD MAKE A STRENUOUS EFFORT TO UNDO THE NEGATIVE PUBLICITY WHICH THE PHILIPPINES WAS RECEIVING ON HUMAN RIGHTS. MARCOS MUST BE GIVEN THE MESSAGE THAT HE HAD A

SERIOUS PROBLEM ON HUMAN RIGHTS. INOUE ADDED THAT IT DID NOT HELP THE IMAGE OF THE MARCOS GOVERNMENT WHEN IMELDA WAS SEEN IN THIS COUNTRY TOSsing AROUND 100 DOLLAR BILLS IN NEIMAN-MARCUS.

HOLBROOKE RESPONDED, PARTICULARLY IN CONNECTION WITH THE LAST POINT, BY NOTING THAT SENATOR INOUE COULD PLAY A HELPFUL ROLE BECAUSE OF HIS SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP WITH MARCOS. HOLBROOKE URGED INOUE TO TRY TO VISIT MANILA LATER THIS YEAR. AS A FINAL NOTE, INOUE COMMENTED THAT THE ADMINISTRATION MIGHT BE WELL ADVISED TO MOVE AS SOON AS POSSIBLE IN PRESENTING THE AGREEMENT TO THE SENATE. INOUE SAID THAT AS A RESULT OF THE PANAMA DEBATES, THERE WERE A GREAT MANY SENATORS WHO WANTED TO DO SOMETHING QUOTE HAWKISH UNQUOTE AND VOTING FOR A NEW BASE AGREE-CONFIDENTIAL

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MENT IN THE PHILIPPINES MIGHT SERVE SUCH A PURPOSE.

BRIEFING OF ASIA SUBCOMMITTEE--HOUSE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS COMMITTEE

ASSISTANT SECRETARY RICHARD HOLBROOKE AND BRIGADIER GENERAL PAT GRAHAM (JCS) INFORMALLY BRIEFED THE ASIA SUBCOMMITTEE (HIRC) AND SELECT OTHERS WHOM THEY HAD INVITED ON THE STATUS OF OUR PHILIPPINE BASE NEGOTIATIONS. PRESENT WERE CHAIRMAN WOLFF AND CONGRESSMEN GUYER, MEYNER, BURKE, WHALEN, AND WON PAT. ONLY WOLFF AND GUYER, HOWEVER, WERE ABLE TO REMAIN FOR THE FULL BRIEFING. A NUMBER OF STAFF WERE ALSO PRESENT, BUT ASKED NO QUESTIONS.

BOTH WOLFF AND GUYER INDICATED THEIR STRONG SUPPORT FOR OUR BASE PROPOSALS. WOLFF INDICATED THAT THE ADMINISTRATION HAD DONE AN OUTSTANDING JOB AND PROMISED TO HELP IN ANY WAY HE COULD. HE DID INDICATE THAT HE DID NOT KNOW WHETHER HE COULD GET THE PROPOSALS THROUGH CONGRESS. GUYER INDICATED THAT HE HAD NO PROBLEM AND LIKED THE ADMINISTRATION'S APPROACH.

MOST OF THE QUESTIONING HAD TO DO WITH THE DETAILS OF THE AGREEMENT. BOTH CONGRESSMEN BURKE AND WOLFF ASKED A NUMBER OF QUESTIONS ABOUT WHETHER OUR USE OF THE BASES WOULD BE IN ANY WAY CHANGED BY THE NEW AGREEMENTS. CONGRESSMAN WOLFF WANTED TO KNOW WHETHER WE WOULD LET THE PHILIPPINES USE CLARK BASE--WOULD PHILIPPINE AIRCRAFT, FOR EXAMPLE, BE PERMITTED TO LAND THERE? WOLFF ALSO ASKED WHETHER THE PHILIPPINE GOVERNMENT WOULD HAVE THE RIGHT TO PROHIBIT OUR USE OF THE BASES IN ANY WAY.

IN RESPONSE, ASSISTANT SECRETARY HOLBROOKE INDICATED THAT THERE WOULD BE NO DEGRADATION OF COMMAND OR UTILIZATION OF THE TWO BASES AS A RESULT OF THE NEW AGREEMENT.

GENERAL GRAHAM GAVE AN EXTENDED DESCRIPTION OF OUR PAST
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HISTORY ON DEALING WITH THE PHILIPPINE GOVERNMENT REGARDING THE USE OF THE BASES, PARTICULARLY DURING THE VIETNAM WAR. CONGRESSMAN WOLFF ASKED IF THERE WAS NO AGREEMENT ON CONTROL OF OFF-SHORE WATERS NEAR SUBIC BAY, WHETHER THE ADMINISTRATION WOULD NEVERTHELESS GO AHEAD AND MAKE AN AGREEMENT WITH REGARD TO OUR BASE AT CLARK. HOLBROOKE INDICATED THAT OUR PACKAGE WAS A WHOLE AND THAT THE PHILIPPINE GOVERNMENT WOULD HAVE TO AGREE TO ALL PARTS OF IT. VANCE

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